

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MADRID 03799 01 OF 02 181343Z

47

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SAM-01 SAJ-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07

H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01

SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 DRC-01 /103 W

----- 063645

R 181119Z JUN 74

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9193

INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 3799

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, SP

SUBJ: ARIAS NAVARRO CALLS ON NATIONAL MOVEMENT TO
LEAD ARTICULATION OF POLITICAL OPINIONS

REF: A. MADRID 1008

B. MADRID 2763

BEGIN SUMMARY: IN FIRST MAJOR POLITICAL ADDRESS SINCE
FEBRUARY 12, PRESIDENT ARIAS NAVARRO REITERATED DETERMINATION
TO PROMOTE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION, NOTABLY WITH ASSOCIATIONS
WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT. SPEECH AMOUNTED
TO ORDER TO MOVEMENT TO ACT AS STANDARD BEARER IN
CHANNELING POLITICAL ACTIVITY WITHIN MOVEMENT. INITIAL
ECHO IN MEDIA HAS BEEN FAVORABLE, ALTHOUGH SOME
COMMENTATORS HAVE ALREADY NOTED THAT SPEECH FELL SHORT OF
EXPECTATIONS BY NARROWING SCOPE, IF NOT PACE OF PROGRAM
ANNOUNCED FEB 12. END SUMMARY

1. PRESIDENT ARIAS NAVARRO USED FIRST OFFICIAL VISIT TO
BARCELONA AS OCCASSION FOR HIS FIRST MAJOR POLITICAL
SPEECH SINCE FEBRUARY 12 WHEN HE ANNOUNCED NEW
GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAM FOR REVITALIZING SPANISH
POLITICAL LIFE (REF A). SPEECH WAS MADE BEFORE GENERAL
ASSEMBLY OF CATALAN LOCAL AND PROVINCIAL COUNCILS OF
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MADRID 03799 01 OF 02 181343Z

NATIONAL MOVMENT AND WAS DEVOTED EXCLUSIVELY TO INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

2. ARIAS STRESSED AT OUTSET LEADING ROLE OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT. HE ASSURED LISTENERS THAT MOVEMENT'S SECRETARY GENERAL, UTRERA MOLINA, AS MEMBER OF CABINET, HAD ACCESS TO HIGHEST LEVELS OF GOVT. ARIAS SAID THAT MOVEMENT WAS "POLITICAL VANGUARD OF COUNTRY" AND HAD NATION'S "LEADING ROLE". AFTER NOTING THAT HE HAD NOT TURNED HIS BACK ON CRITICISM IN RECENT MONTHS, ARIAS REITERATED GOVT'S COMMITMENT TO PROGRAM DESCRIBED IN SPEECH TO CORTES FEB 12.

3. ARIAS SAID THAT NEW FORCES AND NEW CURRENTS HAD ARISEN IN SPANISH LIFE AS RESULT OF COUNTRY'S DEVELOPMENT AND IT WAS NECESSARY TO PROVIDE CHANNELS TO THESE FORCES CONSISTENT WITH BASIC LAWS. MOVEMENT WOULD HAVE TO PROVIDE THE FRAMEWORK FOR INFORMING THE BODY POLITIC, AND "ASSOCIATIONS WITHIN THE MOVEMENT" SHOULD PROVIDE CHANNELS FOR NEW CURRENTS OF OPINION. IT WAS NECESSARY TO ANTICIPATE THE NEEDS OF THE FUTURE, ARIAS SAID, IN ORDER TO PROVIDE THE MONARCHY OF TOMORROW THE HELP OF EXISTING SOCIAL FORCES. PARTICIPATION OF THE PEOPLE IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS WOULD REQUIRE, THEREFORE, A DEFINITION OF THE "RIGHT OF ASSOCIATION" WHICH ARIAS DESCRIBED AS "PREFACE OF ANY DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT".

4. ARIAS PROMISED AT SAME TIME THAT HE WOULD USE EVERY MEANS WITHIN HIS AUTHORITY TO CONTROL "ASSOCIATIONS" TO AVOID ANY "DEVIATION". HE REPEATED THIS WARNING AFTER NOTING THAT THE "OPERATION WAS DELICATE" AND THAT IT WAS NECESSARY IN ORDER "TO SAFEGUARD THE ROLE OF THE MOVEMENT". ARIAS SAID THAT THERE WOULD BE NO TEMPTATION TO RETURN TO THE "DISCORD AND PARTIES WHICH HAD DISAPPEARED FROM SPANISH SOIL YEARS AGO".

5. ARIAS SAW IT AS UP TO NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE MOVEMENT TO PREPARE DRAFT STATUTE OF ASSOCIATIONS. BECAUSE IT WAS IN COUNCIL'S COMPETENCE, HE SAID, HE HAD NOT SET A FIXED DATE FOR SUBMISSION OF A DRAFT WHICH IN NO WAY DIMINISHED GOVT'S DETERMINATION TO CARRY OUT FEB 12 PROGRAM. HE WARNED LISTENERS THAT ISSUE OF ASSOCIATIONS WAS TOO PRAGMATIC TO BE RESOLVED WITH PROMULGATION OF LAW OF ASSOCIATIONS. HE NOTED THAT "PROCESS WAS ALREADY UNDERWAY AND WOULD BE GRADUALLY REFLECTED IN SPANISH LIFE". IN CLOSING, ARIAS POINTED OUT THAT 70 PERCENT OF SPANIARDS HAD NOT LIVED THROUGH CIVIL WAR AND APPEALED TO YOUTH TO JOIN IN REJUVENATING COUNTRY. ARIAS SAID MAIN POLITICAL REQUIREMENT IN

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MADRID 03799 01 OF 02 181343Z

SPAIN TODAY WAS TO PROMOTE UNDER FRANCO'S AUTHORITY "THE PRUDENT TRANSFORMATIONS REQUIRED BY A NEW SOCIAL REALITY". THIS WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH SPIRIT OF REGIME ESTABLISHED BY FRANCO AND AMOUNT TO SAFEGUARDING FUTURE AND CLEARING PATH FOR CAUDILLO'S SUCCESSOR WITH TITLE OF KING.

6. COMMENT: ARIAS' SPEECH IN BARCELONA WAS PROCEEDED BY WEEK-LONG SPECULATION THAT IT WOULD BE A REAFFIRMATION AND ELABORATION OF

PROGRAM ANNOUNCED FEB 12. ALTHOUGH MEDIA HAVE GIVEN EXTENSIVE COVERAGE TO SPEECH AND CONVEYED IMPRESSION THAT IT MET EXPECTATIONS, IT IS ALREADY CLEAR THAT IT FELL SHORT OF EXPECTATIONS FOR SOME COMMENTATORS AND PROBABLY WILL NOT FULLY SATISFY MANY SUPPORTERS OF "APERTURISMO". WHILE FEB 12 SPEECH LEFT IT OPEN WHETHER ASSOCIATIONS WOULD HAVE TO BE TIED TO NATIONAL MOVEMENT, ARIAS HAS NOW NARROWED FUTURE SCOPE OF ASSOCIATIONS TO ACTIVITY CONSISTENT WITH MOVEMENT, WHICH IS AMALGAM OF VARIOUS GROUPS THAT SUPPORTED FRANCO IN CIVIL WAR. APPARENTLY AWARE OF DISTASTE AMONG LIBERALS FOR THIS APPROACH, ARIAS SOUGHT TO MAKE IT MORE PALATABLE BY SUGGESTING THAT MOVEMENT'S PAST ROLE AS "INTEGRATING" FORCE NOW GIVING WAY TO ONE OF GREATER PLURALISM. MANY POLITICIANS, PARTICULARLY IN THE OPPOSITION, HAVE ALWAYS BELIEVED THAT KEY TEST OF REAL LIBERALIZATION WOULD BE WHETHER OR NOT ASSOCIATIONS WOULD BE POSSIBLE OUTSIDE OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT. IN DISCUSSING ASSOCIATIONS, ARIAS NEVER USED CUSTOMARY TERM "POLITICAL ASSOCIATION."

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MADRID 03799 02 OF 02 181355Z

47

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SAM-01 SAJ-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07

H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01

SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 DRC-01 /103 W

----- 063763

R 181119Z JUN 74

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9194

INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MADRID 3799

7. ONE COMMENTATOR ALSO RETRACED HISTORY OF 1967-69 EFFORTS TO INTRODUCE POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS, ONE OF WHICH WAS ULTIMATELY VETOED BY FRANCO WHILE THE OTHER HAD INCONCLUSIVE FATE IN NATIONAL COUNCIL. ARIAS HAS NOW GIVEN NATIONAL COUNCIL A SECOND OPPORTUNITY TO PREPARE A LAW ON ASSOCIATIONS. JUDGING BY PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS, IT MAY BE SOME TIME BEFORE A DRAFT IS PRESENTED TO GOVERNMENT. WHILE ARIAS NEVER MENTIONED PORTUGAL, HIS EMPHASIS ON DUE DELIBERATION OF LIBERALIZATION

MEASURES AND HIS SCORN FOR "IMPATIENCE" SHOWN BY SOME LEFT IT CLEAR THAT GOS HAS NO PLANS TO STEP-UP PACE OF CHANGE BECAUSE OF EVENTS ACROSS BORDER. ALTHOUGH ARIAS KEPT HIS WORD IN SUBMITTING DRAFT BILL ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT BY END OF MAY AS PROMISED IN FEBRUARY 12 SPEECH AND WILL PROBABLY MEET DEADLINE OF END OF JUNE FOR SUBMISSION OF BILL ON PARLIAMENTARY INCOMPATIBILITY, HIS RELUCTANCE TO SET DEADLINE FOR ACTION ON POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS MAY DISAPPOINT SUPPORTERS OF LIBERALIZATION. MANY POLITICIANS AGREE THAT PLURALISM OF POLITICAL OPINION, WHICH IS ALREADY A REAL FACTOR IN SPANISH LIFE, MUST FIND SANCTION IN LEGISLATION IF DEMOCRACY IS TO HAVE SUBSTANCE. MOREOVER, ARIAS' TWO WARNINGS IN HIS SPEECH THAT HE WOULD USE ALL HIS AUTHORITY TO PUT DOWN ANY DEVIATIONS BY ASSOCIATIONS WILL SATISFY SOME PATRIARCHS OF MOVEMENT WHO HAVE FEARED THAT IT MIGHT BE SUBVERTED BY POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MADRID 03799 02 OF 02 181355Z

8. ARIAS HAS PROBABLY GIVEN SOME SATISFACTION TO "ULTRAS" ON RIGHT WHO HAVE RECENTLY BECOME VOCIFEROUS IN EXPRESSING FEARS ABOUT GOVERNMENT'S INTENTIONS FOR LIBERALIZATIONS. ONE OF THE LARGEST ORGANIZATIONS IN SPAIN, "NATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF PROVISIONAL OFFICERS", LAST WEEK LABELED NATIONAL MOVEMENT WEAK ORGANIZATION, EVEN THOUGH IT REPRESENTED "THE ONLY FORUM FOR POLITICAL PARTICIPATION". SEVERAL DAYS BEFORE ARIAS' SPEECH FORMER MOVEMENT LEADER RAIMUNDO FERNANDEZ CUESTA WARNED THAT "APERTURISTA" ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH WE ARE NOW LIVING HAS OVERFLOWED BORDERS DEFINED BY GOVERNMENT". OTHER RIGHT-WING LEADERS, INCLUDING RETIRED GENERAL GARCIA-REBULL, HAVE WARNED THAT ASSOCIATIONS COULD BECOME PARTIES. ARIAS SEEMS TO HAVE HEHEDED THESE WARNINGS WHICH HAVE INCREASED IN INTENSITY EVER SINCE SPEECH BY GIRON ON APRIL 28 (REF B).

9. ALSO NOTABLE IN SPEECH WAS ARIAS' REITERATION OF GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO DEFEND PUBLIC ORDER, ONE OF PRINCIPAL THEMES OF FEBRUARY 12 SPEECH. IT IS NOTABLE THAT ARIAS HAS NOT DISCUSSED FOREIGN RELATIONS ON ANY OCCASION SINCE FEBRUARY 12. MANY POLITICIANS AND COMMENTATORS HAVE CHIDED PRESENT GOVERNMENT FOR ITS SEEMING PASSIVITY IN FOREIGN RELATIONS.

RIVERO

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL STABILITY, PRESS COMMENTS, FOREIGN RELATIONS, FORM OF GOVERNMENT, MONARCHY, SOCIAL PROBLEMS, SPEECHES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 18 JUN 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: WorrelSW
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974MADRID03799
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740158-0655
From: MADRID
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740636/aaaabeta.tel
Line Count: 217
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: A. MADRID 1008
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: WorrelSW
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 30 MAY 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <30 MAY 2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <13 MAR 2003 by WorrelSW>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ARIAS NAVARRO CALLS ON NATIONAL MOVEMENT TO LEAD ARTICULATION OF POLITICAL OPINIONS
TAGS: PINT, SP, (NAVARRO, ARIAS)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005